

## Message Text

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ACTION SS-20

INFO OCT-01 NEA-11 ISO-00 DRC-01 RSC-01 /034 W

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R 231531Z JAN 74

FM AMEMBASSY ANKARA

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 2518

INFO AMCONSUL ADANA

AMCONSUL ISTANBUL

AMCONSUL IZMIR

S E C R E T SECTION 1 OF 2 ANKARA 0569

E.O. 11652: GDF TPFOR, PGOV, PINT, TU

SUBJECT: CURRENT POLITICAL SITUATION IN TURKEY AND SUBJECTS  
TO DISCUSS WITH NEW GOVERNMENT

FOR ASSISTANT SECRETARY SISCO FROM AMABASSADOR MACOMBER

THE FOLLOWING ARE MY THOUGHTS ON THE CURRENT TURKISH  
POLITICAL SITUATION WHICH SHOULD BE TREATED AS A SUPPLEMENT TO  
EMBTELS 8018 AND 9266. IN ADDITION, I AM LISTING THE SUBJECTS  
WHICH I INTEND TO TAKE UP WITH ECEVIT AND THE OTHER LEADERS  
OF HIS NEW GOVT AFTER THEY COME INTO OFFICE. RE LATTER, WOULD  
WELCOME ANY COMMENTS AS TO ADDITIONS, DELETIONS, OR  
ALTERATIONS WHICH YOU MAY WANT TO SUGGEST.

1. AS FOR THE CURRENT POLITICAL SITUATION:

A. WE NOW EXPECT THE NEW GOVT WILL BE HEADING  
TOWARDS ITS PARLIAMENTARY VOTE OF CONFIDENCE AT THE TURN OF THE  
MONTH BY WHICH TIME WE WILL HAVE A CLEARER IDEA OF ITS POLICY  
PROGRAM.

B. ECEVIT WILL BE COMING INTO POWER UNDER DIFFICULT CIRCUM-  
STANCES, LEADING A WEAK, INHERENTLY UNSTABLE, SOMEWHAT UNNATURAL  
COALITION, POSSESSING ONLY A THIN VOTING MARGIN OVER ITS OPPONENTS  
IN THE PARLIAMENT. HE WILL BE INHERITING A GOVT STRUCTURE DIFFI-  
CULT TO OPERATE EFFECTIVELY BECAUSE IT IS INHIBITED BY AN INTERNAL  
SYSTEM OF EXCESSIVE CHECKS AND BALANCES. HE WILL BE FACING TOUGH

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ISSUES, IN THE FOREFRONT OF WHICH ARE INFLATION, UNEMPLOYMENT AND

URBAN ILLS, ALL OF THEM NOW EXACERBATED BY RISING OIL PRICES AND THE THREATENED RETURN OF SIGNIFICANT NUMBERS OF TURKISH WORKERS FROM GERMANY. ASIDE FROM THIS, HE WILL HAVE TO OPERATE WHILE A BUSINESS COMMUNITY APPREHENSIVE OF HIS INTENTIONS AND, MORE IMPORTANT, A WARY MILITARY ESTABLISHMENT ARE LOOKING OVER HIS SHOULDER.

C. AS FAR AS US INTERESTS ARE CONCERNED, THE PLUS SIDE IS THAT ECEVIT IS A DYNAMIC, ATTRACTIVE LEADER, WHO HAS CAPTURED THE IMAGINATION OF MANY, INCLUDING THE YOUNG, WHO IS LIKELY TO PROJECT AN IMAGE OF TACKLING TURKEY'S SERIOUS PROBLEMS ENERGY AND RESOURCEFULLY -- AN IMAGE WHICH IS IMPORTANT TO ASSURE INTERNAL STABILITY HERE AT THIS TIME. HE MAY BE ABLE TO BREATHE NEW VIGOR INTO THE POLITICAL SYSTEM AND THAT COULD ALSO BE HELPFUL IN CONTAINING OR REDIRECTING THE BUILDUP OF MORE RADICAL PRESSURES INIMICAL TO US INTERESTS.

D. AN UNUSUALLY INTERESTING PERSON, ECEVIT IS THE COMBINATION OF A POET-DREAMER AND A PRAGMATIC POLITICIAN WHO HAS BEATEN OR OUTLASTED SOME FORMIDABLE OPPONENTS. HE IS ATTACHED TO THE CULTURAL HERITAGE OF THE WEST AND HAS WORKED AND STUDIED IN THE US (AT ONE TIME TAKING A COURSE UNDER DR. KISSINGER). AND AS RECENTLY AS LAST WEEKEND HE REAFFIRMED THAT QUOTE THERE WILL BE NO QUESTION OF MAKING ANY CHANGES IN THE BASIC DIRECTION AND AIMS OF TURKEY'S FOREIGN POLICY. UNQUOTE

E. ON THE NEGATIVE SIDE IS THE FACT THAT DESPITE HIS FAIRLY LONG POLITICAL CAREER (INCLUDING AN IMPRESSIVE STINT AS MINISTER OF LABOR), ECEVIT IS UNTESTED AS A NATIONAL LEADER. HE IS STILL AN UNWRITTEN PAGE AS FAR AS HIS PRECISE INTENTIONS ARE CONCERNED, FOR HIS MANY STATEMENTS THROUGH HIS LAST CAMPAIGN AND THROUGH THE EARLIER YEARS WERE CHARACTERISTICALLY RINGED WITH CAVEATS. AND WHILE TURKISH MILITARY INFLUENCE IN ANY CURRENT TURKISH GOVT SHOULD PREVENT ANY MAJOR ALTERATIONS IN TURKISH RELATIONS WITH THE US, NONE OF US HERE FEEL CERTAIN AS TO JUST WHAT ECEVIT, WHO IS HIGHLY NATIONALISTIC, IN HIS HEART THINKS OF US-TURKISH RELATIONS. ALSO, HE WILL HAVE TO WORK WITH A JUNIOR PARTNER -- ERBAKAN, THE LEADER OF THE NSP -- WHO OFTEN APPEARS AS AN OPPORTUNIST OF THE WORST KIND, EVEN WHILE EXERCISING THAT PECULIAR FASCINATION THAT A ROUGH DIAMOND OFTEN HOLDS FOR THE PUBLIC. AND

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WITHIN THE RPP ECEVIT, WHO HIMSELF IS LEFTWARD-ORIENTED, WILL HAVE TO DEAL WITH ELEMENTS FURTHER TO THE LEFT THAN HE, ELEMENTS WHICH ARE NOT ESPECIALLY FRIENDLY TO THE USG. IN THIS CONNECTION, I HAVE RESERVATIONS AS TO THE DEGREE OF PARTY -- AS WELL AS COALITION -- DISCIPLINE HE WILL BE ABLE TO ENFORCE, CONSIDERING THAT HE PROBABLY WILL HAVE TO MAKE CONCESSIONS TO THE RADICAL FRINGES IN BOTH PARTIES TO ENSURE AN ADEQUATE VOTE ON CENTRAL

LEGISLATION.

2. TAKING ALL OF THIS INTO CONSIDERATION, I EXPECT ECEVIT TO LAUNCH A DYNAMIC, LEFTIST-NATIONALIST DOMESTIC PROGRAM WHILE REFRAINING FROM MAJOR CHANGES IN FOREIGN POLICY AND SEEKING TO BE SOMEWHAT REASSURING TO TURKEY'S SENIOR MILITARY FIGURES. I WOULD NOT BE SURPRISED IF IN HIS DEALINGS WITH US, HE IS MORE AGGRESSIVE THAN HIS RECENT PREDECESSORS, BUT I DO NOT, AS I SAY, EXPECT ANY MAJOR CHANGE IN THE BASICS OF HIS FOREIGN POLICY. IN DEVELOPING HIS DOMESTIC PROGRAM I WOULD EXPECT HIM TO HAVE AN EYE ON THE NEXT ELECTION CAMPAIGN RATHER THAN ON THE CURRENT INHIBITING PARLIAMENTARY POWER BALANCE. THE ABOVE PROGRAM COULD BE A GOOD THING FOR TURKEY AND IS PROBABLY WHAT TURKISH SOCIETY NEEDS, AT LEAST IN SOME MEASURE, AT THIS TIME. IF CARRIED TO EXTREMES, HOWEVER, IT COULD UNLEASH FORCES UNHELPFUL TO OUR INTERESTS HERE.

3. WITH THE FOREGOING CONSIDERATIONS IN MIND, FOLLOWING ARE THE MAJOR POINTS I INTEND TO TAKE UP WITH ECEVIT HIMSELF AS WELL AS WITH OTHERS OF THE TOP LEADERSHIP IN THE NEW GOVT.

A. I WILL WANT TO ELICIT ASSURANCES FROM ECEVIT DIRECTLY THAT THERE WILL BE NO FUNDAMENTAL CHANGES IN TURKEY'S PRESENT FOREIGN AND SECURITY POLICIES, OR IN TURKEY'S ORIENTATION TO THE WEST AND TO THE US.

B. I WILL WISH TO DRAW OUT HIS SPECIFIC OPINIONS AS TO HOW HE VIEWS THE PRESENT US-TURKISH RELATIONSHIP AND HOW HE THINKS IT WILL EVOLVE IN THE YEARS IMMEDIATELY AHEAD.

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ACTION SS-20

INFO OCT-01 NEA-11 ISO-00 DRC-01 RSC-01 ( ISO ) W

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R 231531Z JAN 74

FM AMEMBASSY ANKARA

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 2519

INFO AVKONSUL ADANA 3258

AMCONSUL ISTANBUL

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S E C R E T SECTION 2 OF 2 ANKARA 0569

C. I INTEND AT THE SAME TIME TO OUTLINE OUR BASIC VIEWS OF THE STRENGTH AND VITALITY OF OUR RELATIONSHIP, POINTING OUT THAT ITS VALUE TO THE TURKS CANNOT BE MEASURED IN DOLLAR AND CENTS TERMS BUT SHOULD INSTEAD BE JUDGED IN THE LIGHT OF THE OVERALL BENEFITS TO BOTH PARTIES. (HERE I WANT TO GET THE TUKS AWAY FROM THEIR TENDENCY TO MEASURE OUR FRIENDLINESS IN DIRECT PROPORTION TO THE LEVEL OF OUR MILITARY ASSISTANCE. MY CONCERN IS THE OBVIOUS ONE, THAT THE AMOUNTS OF MAP TO BE MADE AVAILABLE BY CONGRESS IN THE FUTURE ARE LIKELY TO DECLINE. MY PURPOSE IS TO GET THEM TO FOCUS MORE ON THE OTHER BENEFITS OF THEIR ASSOCIATION WITH US, E.G., THE PRESENCE OF THE SIXTH FLEET IN THE EASTERN MEDITERRANEAN, OUR PARTNERSHIP IN NATO, ETC).

D. I WILL WANT TO DISCUSS MAP PROSPECTS REALISTICALLY IN A PERIOD OF DIMINISHING US RESOURCES, BUT INDICATE MY CONFIDENCE THAT, EVEN IF OVERALL AID AVAILABILITIES DECLINE, TURKEY WILL CONTINUE TO GET A HIGH PRIORITY SHARE OF WHATEVER IS MADE AVAILABLE.

E. IN ADDITION, I WILL WISH TO RAISE THE SUBJECT OF THE FUTURE OF US ECONOMIC ASSISTANCE. I WILL NOTE THAT ALL OF THE ECONOMIC INDICATORS LAST SUMMER AND EARLY THIS FALL HAD SUGGESTED THAT TURKEY WOULD NO LONGER REQUIRE ECONOMIC (AS OPPOSED TO MILITARY) ASSISTANCE, AND IF CIRCUMSTANCES HAD NOT ALTERED I WOULD NOW BE ADVISING HIM THAT OUR  
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ECONOMIC ASSISTANCE PROGRAMS WOULD SOON BE COMING TO A CLOSE. I WILL ADD, HOWEVER, THAT BECAUSE OF NEW DEVELOPMENTS, SUCH AS SKYROCKETING OIL PRICES AND THE THREATENED RETURN OF WORKERS FROM GERMANY, OUR PLANS IN THIS REGARD WILL OBVIOUSLY HAVE TO BE RE-EXAMINED.

(I KNOW YOU HAVE RESERVATIONS ABOUT MY MENTIONING THIS SUBJECT, BUT I RECOMMEND I DO SO ALONG THE ABOVE LINES. THIS KEEPS OUR OPTIONS OPEN AND IF, AS NOW APPEARS POSSIBLE, WE WILL NEED TO EXTEND ECONOMIC ASSISTANCE BESOND MY PROPOSED JUNE 30, 1975 CUTOFF DATE, WE WILL GET CREDIT FOR THIS. ON THE OTHER HAND, WE WILL GET NO CREDIT IF WE NEVER REVEAL TO THEM THAT OTHER THINGS BEING EQUAL, WE HAD PLANNED TO GET OUT OF THE ECONOMIC ASSISTANCE PROGRAM BY THAT DATE.)

F. I WILL OUTLINE US EXPECTATIONS THAT THE POPPY BAN WILL BE CONT-

INUED. (THIS IS A VERY DIFFICULT PROBLEM BECAUSE BOTH PARTIES IN THE COALITION WENT ON RECORD DURING THE ELCTION CAMPAIGN, WITH THE NSP FAVORING AN OUTRIGHT REVERSAL AND THE RPP PROMISING "RECONSIDERATION" OF THE DECISION AND DEVELOPMENT OF A "NEW SOLUTION". MOREOVER, RECENT REPORTS THAT THE US AND OTHER CONSUMER NATIONS WILL REQUIRE SIGNIFICANTLY INCREASED OPIUM SUPPLIES HAVE NOT GONE UNNOTICED HERE.) I WILL RESPOND TO ANY SUGGESTIONS THAT THE BAN BE LIFTED WITH THE FOLLOWING ARGUMENTS: (1) POPPY BAN HAS BEEN OF POSITIVE HELP IN REDUCING THE FLOW OF THIS POISON INTO ERICAN COMMUNITIES, AND LIFTING OF THE BAN COULD HAVE A SERIOUS IMPACT ON US-TURKISH RELATIONS; (2) TURKEY IS WELL OUT OF THIS "DIRTY BUSINESS AND A BACKWARD STEP WOULD PRIMARILY BENEFIT THE CROOKS; (3) THE SO-CALLED "CONTROLLED CONDITIONS" FOR POPPY CULTIVATION ARE SIMPLY NOT EFFECTIVE; AND (4) US AND TURKEY HAVE REACHED AN AGREEMENT, INVOLVING A \$35 MILLION USG COMMITMENT, WHICH BOTH PARTIES EXPECTED WOULD BE HONORED FOR A GOOD DDS LONGER THAN TWO OR THREE YEARS.

G. AS REGARDS THE GENERAL AMNESTY WHICH BOTH COALITION PARTNERS HAVE PROMISED TO LEGISLATE PROMPTLY, I WILL SEEK TO ENSURE THAT THE EXCEPTIONALLY HEAVY SENTENCES  
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FOR CERTAIN AMERICAN CITIEEN NARCOTICS OFFENDERS WILL BE COVERED BY THIS ANRESTY (EVEN THOUGH I STRONGLY DOUBT THAT THE AMNESTY WILL PROVIDE A FULLY SATISFACTORY ANSWER TO THEIR PLIGHT). I WILL EMPHASIZE THAT THESE CASES HAVE ALREADY ATTRACTED SUBSTANTIAL PRESS, CONGRESSIONAL, AND PUBLIC ATTENTION, AND COULD BECOME IMPORTANT AND WORRISOME BURDENS ON US-TURKISH RELATIONS.

H. I WILL SOLICIT THE LEADERSHIP'S VIEWS ON PROSPECTS FOR US PRIVATE INVESTMENT IN TURKEY. (IN SO DOING I WILL TRY TO ASCERTAIN THEIR INTENTIONS IN THE LIGHT OF REPORTS THAT THE NEW GOVT MIGHT CONSIDER NATIONALIZATION AFFECTING BOTH DOMESTIC AND FOREIGN CAPITAL, BUT PARTICULARLY FOREIGN PETROLEUM COMPANIES.)

I. I WILL OF COURSE ATTEMPT TO SOLICIT THE NEW GOVT'S VIEWS ON E YEAR OF EUROPE EFFORT AND EAST-WEST RELATIONS. I WILL ALSO EXPLORE FURTHER ECEVIT'S OFT-MENTIONED INTENTIONS TO ALTER TURKEY'S RELATIONS WITH THE EC NINE.

J.PAS REGARDS THE MIDDLE EAST, MY AIM WILL BE TO ENSURE THAT THE NEW LEADERSHIP FULLY UNDERSTANDS AND APPRECIATES THE GOALS OF US POLICY IN THIS AREA, AND THUS TRY TO ENSURE THAT TURKISH POLICY IN THIS AREA HARMONIZES

WITH OUR OWN TO THE MAXIMUM FEASIBLE DEGREE.

K. FINALLY, I WILL TRY TO ENLIST TURKISH COOPERATION  
IN OUR CONTINUING EFFORTS TO DEAL WITH FOOD, ENERGY, AND  
OTHER WORLD RESOURCES PROBLEMS, ENLARGING ON THE THEME  
THAT THEIR SOLUTION WILL DEPEND ON COOPERATIVE,  
MULTILATERAL EFFORTS AND THAT RESORT TO BILATERAL UNDERTAKINGS  
WILL PROVE SELF-DEFEATING IN THE END.  
MACOMBER

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## Message Attributes

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